settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

the settlement of which it forms part represents the hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is called *podh*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these settlements in Shillukland, each having a population of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) identify themselves politically and with whom they

621 form a separate social community with its own
613 corporate life. This lineage is generally dominant
609 in numbers as well as in virtue of the prestige derived from its traditional association with the
● [622] settlement site. The chief of the settlement is chosen from it and by its members, though the stranger lineages have some say in the election, which must be confirmed by the king (*reth*) of the Shilluk. Even when a stranger lineage, sometimes a branch of the royal clan (*kwareth*), becomes more numerous in a settlement than its dominant lineage and dispossesses its members of the chieftainship they still retain some prestige as owners of the soil. Unity in a settlement and the authority of its chief are said to depend on its integration around a powerful dominant lineage. I must, therefore, say something here about Shilluk lineages.

613 There has been, and still is, some obscurity about Shilluk descent groups. There are said to be in Shillukland about 100 groups designated by the word *kwa* (descendants) followed by the name of the ancestor of the group. These are often described in the literature as exogamous clans but many of them might perhaps be better spoken of as lineages. They have a typical lineage structure with its characteristic branching off in response to the formation

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent.
[162] Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its
[622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-
[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to
[611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

He[1] makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with religious cult can be seen at every point of the structure. The territorial segments of the nation and their association with lineages is, as we have noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in

[1] [i.e., the King. - Analyst]

particular, ceremonial services at the king's investiture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and those of past kings. These shrines are widely distributed throughout the country so that every section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

We can only understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk Dē Jǫk Buin Dānyimǫ, carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Oshangǫ. He carried on the law-suit with Ayik, in the court of king Nyakwachǫ. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayik with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwǒrǫ (which was the village of Ayik) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayik) were caught, and Ayik was brought (banished) to Detang.

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33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

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Kɛ́ mak nam, ka tʃɛ̄rǫ kɛ́dǫ́[1], *ka tʃɛ̄rǫ nīnį́ gat, ka bǫ́i mɛ̄n pɛ́ń, ka rech e bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka bǫ́i mā̄go kį rech, ka jɛ̄ tā̄dǫ, ka jɛ̄ chāmǫ. Ka wǫu rū̄, ka mayɛ bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka tʃɛ̄rǫ mā̄gǫ, ka ńań ka kɛ́l, ka e makǫ kį́ dā̄p. Ka tʃɛ̄rǫ rɛ́ńa wǫk, ka tyɛ́ń tʃɛ̄k e dɛ̄ńǫ, ka ɟā̄p ɛ̄ɲć gɛ wǫk, ka ńań nɛ́kɛ. Kā tɛ̄rǫ kā wǫk, ka jāke bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka gɛ pɛ̄chǫ: ńań a gwɛ̄k edi? Kɪ̀ne: e nɛ̄k! Kɪ̀ne: dɛ ɛ ya kɛ́ń? Kɪ̀ne: nut. Yech! Ka yech. Ka e ko: ńǫ́lé, bā gik lā̄gǫ. Ka kɪ̀te pach lā̄gǫ, ka tʃɛ̄rǫ bɛ̄ŋǫ chɛ̄, ka ńań tʃɛ̄l yi jā̄gǫ, ńańe lā̄gǫ. Ka e chwǫtǫ jɛ̄, ka jāk dwai, ka e chām; tʃɛ̄rǫ ko: ɛ̄, ńań an dɛ̄ch. Dʊ̀kį́ mɛ̄kǫ ka ńań mɛ̄kǫ kwáń, ka chām yį tʃɛ̄re yau.*

Ka jā̄gǫ e chwɛ̄tǫ, ka tʃɛ̄rǫ bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka e pɛ̄chǫ kɪ̀ne: wuna yik jā̄k, ya pɛńa gɪ̀che mɛ̄kǫ, gnd kwānʉ kį yey nam ká; kɪ̀ne: ā gin ā́ńɔ̀? Ya pɛńa kwɛ́l. Kɪ̀ne: ɛ́, kúchɛ̀ wɛ́n! Kɪ̀ne: ɛ́, fatɛ ńań a chām kį pay ńate? Kɪ̀ne: ɛ́, e chāmǫ, ńwɛle ńań tɛ̄pǫ. Kɪ̀ne: ɛ́, chɔ̄lá! Ka e kyɛdǫ, kɪ̀ne: ya ba chudǫ. Kɪ̀ne: ɛ́, wa kā Bachōdǫ. Kɪ̀ne: ɛ́, wa kɛ́dǫ.

Ka gɛ kɛ́dǫ, ka gɛ wɪ̀ta Bachōdǫ, ká gɛ́ gɔ́ńɔ̀, kɪ̀ne: wuo (wuɛ), yá ɟálɛ̀ yí kwɛ́p kwɛ́fe ńate; kwɛ́l a chámɛ̀ ɛ́n, kwɛl lā̄gǫ. Kɪ̀ne: ɛ́, yi chama ńǫ, ńate? Kɪ̀ne: wuo, kúchɛ̀ yán. Rɪ́t e ko: gɛ, (ɣɛ́dɛ́), kɛ́t chōl kį dɛ́k gá pyàrǫ, kį́ dā̄p! Ka e bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka e chudǫ dɛ́k gá pyàrǫ, kį́ dā̄p; ka gɛ kɔ́l kōle rɪ́t, y tʃɛ̄re lɪ́ńe[2], *ka gɛ rūmǫ.*

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It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the people went fishing again, then a crocodile was speared, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chiefs came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chiefs said, "Skin it!" And it was

[1] "When the river was caught, and the people went".
[2] that the people might hear.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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skinned. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate." So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came; the crocodile was cooked by he chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the river there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But *they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go* to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! You are to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ka jāk ríl Túgò, jāk a pārí, chwǫla Ńwōājǫ. Ka wǭt ka gɛ ńí bī̱nǫ, gɛ bī̱r*[2] *ga wǭt chót, ka gɛ ńí gwǭtǫ wiy pach kí chāńǫ. Ka ríl ɛ kōbǫ kíne: bɨ́h, gɛ rɛ ru wǭt, a réi gī̱n gwǭtǫ? Kíne: tyɛre pān gní. A gī̱r pān gní, a Pachōdǫ; a dɛgɛ Tugǫ yɛ́jɛ. a kōbí Tugǫ kíne: fān gní y chī̱k á pò rī̱ń! A bāńe ńí rī̱ń ī̱dǫ yɛ́jɛ. A rām á jàgò, a kōbí kíne: ka wǫda y rī̱ń, a rī̱ńd.*

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King Tugǫ reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyewājǫ. And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen without horns, called chod, they used to dig the ground of that place with their heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Pachōdǫ. Tugǫ moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the

[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate,") nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief.

[2] From *bī̱dǫ* "to be".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 *ka ţom kḭ̀l wọ̀k, ka Chọ́lọ̀ (Chọllọ) bẹ̀nọ bẹ̀ne bẹ̀ne, ká tḭ̀rḭ̀ chḭ̀nḭ̀, ka wɛ̄ni kḭ wọr, ka tḭ̀rọ chḭ̀nḭ̀, ka rḭ̀ḭ a kwach:*

Ya kwache kḭ mátḭ́pḭ́, má kḭ̀la ḍọga. Pań e rḭ́ḭ́ júr, Lén-dárḭ́ che dẹ wḭ̀lọ. Yá kḭ̀ḭ́á yi máyḭ́ bańda ńa Ńjdwai, Akolọ, ńań Ńikūńọ.

*539 782 796 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for mud, then they come and besmear the temple of the "king", they prepare the mud, and make stripes on the temple with red ashes, and with black ashes, and with white ashes, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dura is pounded, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum of Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "king":[1]

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Lenydaro[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Nyidwai, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."

64. A Religious Ceremony.

796 The people went, the tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the tom; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground; then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the slaves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The next day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four days they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

● 622 789 233 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the people, and addresses them, "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!" He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Dure", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer). 622● 789 233

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are seized, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lén kɒn é châgí, ajwɔgɒ ní de dwâi, ká ḍɔ̀k gɒ́n, ka e bɛ̀nɒ, ka dyɛk gwâch, ka tɒ́n gwách, ka yai bɛ̀nɒ, ká àkɛ̀t kɛ̀t. Ka tɒ́n mɛ̄n pén, ka tɒ́n akyɛl mɛ̄n pén; ka akɛ́t twɔchè rɛ́. Ka yai e bɛ̀nɒ, ka kɛla ʈá àkɛ́t; akɛte ya màl, e twojɒ bwɔ́l tɒ́ñ. Ñànɔ̀ mák yí akɛ́t, ka ní chip wɛ̂i, ka ñâne a ní mak ní chip wâi. Ka jɛ̄ chɑ̄ɲɒ kí dɛ̄ch. Ka tin, ka yai kɔ́fí: fɛ̀ke fén. Ka onwɔk kwâń, ka tɑ́yè fén, ka yejɛ kâk, ka wijɛ ńɡl, ka wɛ̀i kɑ̄l wɔ̀k, ka ní lɛ́n kɛle jɛ̀. Ka wich anwɔk ka kwáń yi ajwɔ̄gɔ́, ka ní lɛ́n fɔ̄ɲ gní ki ním yâi. U[1] yik wiche onwɔk y nɛ̀nɒ kundo foɲ gni, ka yé kine: foɲ gní de chyɛ̀tɔ́, kwɔf ajwɔ̄gɒ. U yik wiche onwɔk y nɛ̀nó kun adi lén, ye kine: lén rach! Ka ajwɔ̄gɒ e ʈɛ̀dɔ̀ kɛ̄tɛ́, ka yech kɑ̄l, ka kɔ̄t, ka mɛ̀kɒ chiki kɔ̄tɔ̀, ka ajwɔ̄gɒ kɛ̀gɔ, ka onwɔń mɛ̀kɒ kɑ̄l, ka nɛ̄k, ka wijɛ chiki (chɛ̀ki) wɛ̀tɔ̀, ká lɛ̀ɛ yi ajwɔń gní, ka e ko: dɔ̄ch! Dwai ʈɛrɒ bɛ̀nɒ! Ka ʈɛrɒ bɛ̀nɒ. Ka wāi kwɑ̄ńé, ka gɒ lɛ̄ńé ré ʈɛrɔ̀. Ka e kɛ̀gɔ. Ka wich onywɔk ka y kwɔ̄ńí fen. Ka pi ʈɑ̄ɲ, ká gɔ̀ lɛ̄ńé rɛ ʈɛrɒ. 539*

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are loosened (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the 539* 721 787

[1] sg.

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married
[678] brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

364 Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained
[862] there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous
621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.
[613]

The Settlement (pouh)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different
[36] lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

554 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog-
613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *weuh*. It is said that Nyikang,
621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, originally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the
[173] grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *weuh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *weuh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *weuh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

●[629] The chief of the settlement, the *rago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

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The colo consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The colo clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *jal dwong pac* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the *dyil* lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs.

The Col Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol*, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.)

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Lusk & Gerr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Mumo & Tonga
.....Division *(Lusk)*.....	.....Division or Court Chief.....
Settlement *(Podh)*	*Jago*
Hamlet *(Pac)*	*Jal dwong pac*
Homestead *(Col)*	*Jal Col*

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.)

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual.."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful.

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.39.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated.

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THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

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Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1)

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It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult.

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(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans.

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(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth.

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(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*.

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(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

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The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime.

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Succession of the Reth

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Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp. 16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

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554 lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
613 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship[10] of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (*e.g.*, Odong Fanyikang).

361 Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan*
613 *dwong*)[11] subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
621 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dwong* (*i.e.*, the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

613 With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely
621 submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
622 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

The Hamlet and the Homestead.

[613 Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*pac*) is a homogeneous unit
621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

10. The *lau* (meaning sheepskin) is the insignia of chieftaincy. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Pac* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:
pan when followed by a qualifying adjective.
pa when followed by a genitive.
Its plural is *myer*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

565 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Ororo*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Ororo*, are usually treated with a certain outward defence by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[12]. The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Ororo*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reth.

566 The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country.
614 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristoc-
644 racy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk
[625] clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

554 Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are
566 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*),
614 *Nyireth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyireth*
644 (or *Nyinyireth*) for a son of a *Nyireth* and *Kwar Nyireth* (elided into *Kwanyreth*) for a grandson of a *Nyireth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

12. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

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who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

Political Divisions and Organisation.

The Provinces of Luak and Ger and the Old Order.

The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[16]. The bound-

16. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name *Gol Nyikang* is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, complete with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyibwol. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Ibrim and had resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Alhakmeg and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abdubok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the *Nyigir* boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just them killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Collibok, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives.

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work.

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct

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and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single homestead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

Shilluk tribe	.. ..	*Reth.*
Luak and Ger	.. ..	Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang*.
Division (*luak*)	.. ..	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*)	..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	.. ..	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	.. .. ..	*Jal Gol.*

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

554 613 621 this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Rak*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhok-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adol*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhok Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

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chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pai*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place to their founder.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhok- Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok- Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants.

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names- of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Two*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyom* who founded *Debalo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period.

Kwar Nyimol are *Ororo*,[1] but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wadh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol*

1. The special status of the Ororo is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 12).

[see MPumphrey, His Fb. Analysis]

recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Orore* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Anenlek*[1] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gilker* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gilker* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

1. *Jago Anenlek* is now dead.

18:Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jago*[7] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his coaevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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7. Chief.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set.

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears.

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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631
government intervention in the past. As several of the electors said, 643
"if there had not been agreement between the chiefs of Gol Dhiang 666
and Gol Nyikang, we should have gone home, each behind our leader" 669
—presumably to prepare for war.

At the meetings of the electoral college etiquette was very strict, 631
and as far as we could make out, the order, in theory, was that the 643
chief of Gol Nyikang proposes a candidate to the chief of Gol Dhiang; 666
no doubt this is in fact discussed privately by the two chiefs. The chief of Gol Dhiang replies agreeing to the proposal (or not, as the case may be). In fact there is not much more for the other members to say, though they doubtless know before hand, and may even have some say in who is to be the candidate proposed by their chief. Should any chief or notable, outside the electoral college, be sitting at their meeting, as did in fact happen, he would be very careful not to do more than listen. He would feel it quite out of place to express an opinion, however important his position might be. We think that on the surface at least considerable honour was paid to the observance of this etiquette. It would, however, have been odd if there had not been a great deal of "lobbying."

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election 643
of his successor and his initial establishment in Fashoda there is an 669
awkward period in which the Shilluk feel a sense of potential danger. Custom requires that all *nyireths*, potential claimants to the throne, should remain at home. Should anyone among them wish to defy custom and try to obtain a following to instal himself in Fashoda, this is his chance. After the electoral college has agreed upon a new *reth* the chances of a pretender become much less, though the period of danger is never quite over till after the installation of the chosen *reth* by Nyikang in Fashoda. The danger from ambush, illness, or disaster attributed to the *reth* always exists.

The procedure for seizing the throne of Fashoda by force is as 643
follows. A *nyireth* who is living in a section of the Shilluk, and who 669
fancies his chances of becoming *reth*, persuades, or is persuaded by the 622
chief of his settlement or section to start an insurrection; without the co-operation of the *nyireth* and his chief an insurrection is impos-

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

sible, for only the settlement chief can call up the necessary force of warriors. Equally an insurrection must centre round a *nyireth*, for only *nyireths* are eligible to become *reths*. (It is for this reason that Shilluk custom enjoins upon all *nyireths* to remain quietly at home, as a safeguard, during an interregnum.) The procedure then varies with the fortunes of war. It seems probable that one settlement—there are some 100 settlements in the Shilluk country—would not of itself be able to start openly a campaign of violence. Should the electoral college fail to agree upon a single choice, then there would be a good chance of a pretender rallying half the kingdom to his cause, as Cuti Ajang succeeded in doing in 1917.

When the electoral college has settled upon a choice, the initial formalities take place very quietly, as if to avoid attracting attention. The new *reth* (who will not be *reth* in full sense till Nyikang has installed him) is brought by the chief of Gol Nyikang, traditionally after a mock duel, though we doubt whether this is obligatory. He is brought stealthily and by night, and at early dawn a bull is speared at Fashoda, and he is taken into the house favoured by his father in his life time in Fashoda, where he has to step over a sheep, held prostrate at the entrance to the house, and has a string of beads tied on to his ankle. The spearing of the bull and the tying on of the beads both symbolise his new status of what we may call *reth*-elect. We think the spearing of the bull is the more significant.

It is interesting that on this first day Anei was obviously under the stress of great emotion, natural in one who overnight, finds himself translated into the incarnation of the tribal hero, who is so closely descended from God.

Immediately on being introduced to Fashoda the *reth*-elect starts to receive the homage, unofficially and without ceremony, of the chiefs of his kingdom. They come from all parts of the country, and for a chief to fail to come would be a sign of disaffection, or at best gross discourtesy. The *reth*'s brothers too all come, or should come, to pay homage, and other *nyireths* as well. His brothers appear to bear

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal dueng*,' he says, '*Yi sis*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nat*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my